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TOWN MEETING



May 1, 1955
Vol. 21, No. 1
868th Broadcast

"AS ASIANS SEE US"

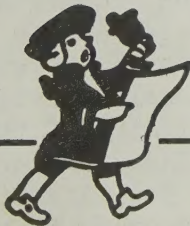
Speakers:

Mrs. Amina El-Said
G. Ramachandran
Mohamad Roem
Abdul Kerim al-Uzri
George Togasaki
Musa Nasir
Roberto Villanueva
Cao Thai Bao
Miss Nilawarn Pintong

With Sen. Karl E. Mundt and Rep. Brooks Hays

Moderator:

Gunnar Back



A Report from The
Asia Town Hall
Mission

BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

Broadcast Sundays, ABC Network, 8 to 9 p.m., Eastern Time

"AS ASIANS SEE US"

ANNOUNCER: TOWN MEETING comes to you tonight from the Senate Radio Gallery in the nation's Capitol where we bring together the members of an important project in the field of international relations. TOWN MEETING listeners still recall the epoch-making world tour of this program in 1949, on which representative Americans, forming the World Town Hall Seminar, met with people of similar interests in twelve nations from Britain to Japan. This was the first of Town Hall's international projects on a people-to-people basis. Since then, this pioneer adult education center has been the spearheading agency for similar missions between leaders of Egypt, and our neighbors to the north and south -- Canada and Mexico. This year, Town Hall developed a project with leaders of the Near East and Asia who, with two distinguished members of Congress, are gathered here in Washington for a report to the American people.

Now, to preside as moderator of our discussion, here is the well-known Washington commentator, Gunnar Back. Mr. Back!

MR. BACK: Good evening, friends. We have for you tonight a rather different approach of TOWN MEETING which, in a basic sense, becomes a world-wide roundtable through the expression of opinion by representatives of ten different nations, including the United States.

Seated here in the Senate Radio Gallery in the Capitol Building in Washington -- with Senator Karl E. Mundt, Republican of South Dakota and Representative Brooks Hays, Democrat of Arkansas -- are nine members of the Asia Town Hall Mission who have just concluded a seven-week tour of our country -- several of them visiting America for the first time. They have seen the East and West Coasts, the states between, the North and the South. Accompanied by Mr. Robert L. Clifford, who has directed the project for Town Hall, our guests have visited these American cities: New York, Princeton, Philadelphia, Toledo, Chicago, Dayton, Minneapolis, Yankton, Omaha, St. Louis, Kansas City, Seattle, Tacoma, Portland, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Dallas, New Orleans, Chattanooga, Cincinnati and Atlanta -- so the impressions which they bring you tonight are based on a very comprehensive look at the United States.

In cooperation with local World Affairs Councils of The Foreign Policy Association, they have talked with tens of thousands of Americans in this journey of theirs. In keeping with the Town Hall philosophy that the path to mutual understanding is a two-way street, they have come here for a free exchange of ideas, knowledge and experiences. The members of the mission now return to their home countries. We believe they will have learned a little more about us -- as the American people most assuredly have learned more about them and their problems.

So that we may share each other's views with our listeners across the nation, we have invited them to join us for a frank and informal discussion here on TOWN MEETING. Senator Mundt and Congressman Hays will be glad to answer their questions as we go along, and they also will have questions for our Asian guests.

First, I would like to identify them briefly for you. In the custom of "ladies first" I'll begin. Mrs. Amina El-Said, a journalist of Cairo, Egypt; Miss Nilawarn Pintong, editor of a woman's magazine in Thailand; Mr. G. Ramachandran, Director of the Gandhigram Rural Workers Training Center in India; Mohamad Roem, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia; Roberto Villanueva, General Manager of the "Manila Chronicle"; Abdul Kerim al-Uzri, Member of Parliament of Iraq; George Togasaki, President of "The Nippon Times" of Tokyo and Chairman of the Board of International Christian University; Cao Thai Bao, Commissioner for Political and Administrative Affairs of the State of South Vietnam; and Musa Nasir, Director of the Junior College, Bir Ziet, in Jordan.

To begin our discussion, I'd like to call on several of you first for some general impressions. I know that you must have many impressions. I'm going to hope that you'll make the general impressions fairly short. Mr. Togasaki, will you tell us what your impression has been of this trip?

The "Town Meeting Bulletin" is published weekly by The Town Hall, Inc. The text is compiled from a recording of the actual broadcast and the publisher is not responsible for the statements of the speakers. Subscription rates: \$5.00 per year; six months, \$3.00. Single copies, 25¢. Quantity rates on request. Address: "Town Meeting Bulletin," New York 36, New York.

MR. TOGASAKI: In the first place, the Americans have become greatly interested in world affairs. We often hear of the isolation policy, but nowhere on this trip have we been faced with isolationist expressions. The efforts of the local authorities -- local people -- World Affairs Councils, to diffuse world education to the younger generation has been very, very impressive. In general I may say that world education has been diffused throughout the country.

MR. BACK: Mr. Togasaki, we often talk about our Middlewestern area as being isolationist and I note that you did visit some of the Middlewestern areas. You found then an interest in world affairs out there in the Middle West?

MR. TOGASAKI: Particularly so in the Midwest. I was pleasantly surprised in Yankton, a small community of some 6,000 or more, gathering together in the auditorium at Yankton College to hear world affairs and to pose very interesting questions.

SEN. MUNDT: Mr. Togasaki, let me say as a Senator from South Dakota that I am very gratified to hear that report because Yankton is in South Dakota, in fact, it is the Mother City of the Dakotas.

MR. BACK: Mr. Villanueva, you are a journalist from the Philippines. Perhaps you'll give us your general estimate of this trip of yours?

MR. VILLANUEVA: During the tour I had only one trouble in America, and that was having my name pronounced correctly. Apparently although Americans are quick to grasp any problem, in the question of foreign languages they have fallen very much behind. But, seriously, we feel like people who have had the opportunity to take a 3-D view of America. We have not only been able to appreciate the size and the magnitude of this country, but the best of the American spirit. In going through different states, coming from the East and going to the West, we have naturally seen great changes in climatic conditions, in the landscape of the country, and differences in the temper, in the mood and in the tempo of the life of peoples -- but one thing that impressed us greatly was the great unity that exists among the American people. I think it can be said that America speaks with one voice and acts in unison on great issues effecting this country.

MR. BACK: Thank you very much, Mr. Villanueva. Now let's turn to Mr. Ramachandran for his general view of the United States of America.

MR. RAMACHANDRAN: We in India have a fairly good knowledge of what is happening in this country because people are very much interested. The NEW YORK TIMES is widely read in India so I came with certain interests, and I must say that I have received no shock at all. Neither the bigness of your cities, nor the vastness of your areas, nor the temper of your people -- the understanding of the people -- in none of these areas have I had any shock whatsoever. But I have had, if I may contradict myself for a moment, slightly pleasant shocks -- pleasanter shocks than I had expected. For instance, I have found that the people are far more tolerant than they appear to be before world public opinion. People are far more interested in the outside world than I thought that they were. Now this has been a good surprise to me. And one other thing which I must mention is that Americans have some wonderful illusions about themselves. They think, for instance, that they are a terrific people living in a terrific way, but what I have discovered is that the Americans are perfectly normal, good, quiet people with great family loyalties amongst themselves -- altogether quite a normal people. This picture I wish to carry back to my country.

MR. BACK: Mr. Ramachandran, what do you think of American food?

MR. RAMACHANDRAN: American food -- again, I had heard before I came was terrific -- but it's perfectly normal food.

SEN. MUNDT: Maybe he hasn't tried the Senate Bean Soup. There is something terrific.

MR. BACK: Perhaps he'll have a chance to do that while he's here in Washington. Let me go to the next question now which, in some respects, has been answered. Do you feel that the American people are sufficiently informed about the Near East and Asia, Mrs. El-Said of Egypt?

MRS. EL-SAID: Well, sir, throughout our visit, or our tour, which took seven weeks, we felt that the people were definitely less informed about our problems in the Middle East than we hoped them to be. In some cases they know one side of the subject

and not the other. Of course, I must admit that they have always been ready to listen to us and to learn from us, and quick to grasp and to form a just opinion -- but we want more and more of this. You know the Middle East, Egypt and the other countries, has become a very sensitive part of the world at the present, if not the most sensitive part of the world. I believe mutual understanding and mutual interests in each other will help a great deal in participating for peace, or, it will help freedom

MR. BACK: Mrs. El-Said, did you find that looking over our American newspapers and perhaps having a chance to listen to a radio here and watch television, did you feel that we gave fairly adequate news coverage to the Near East?

MRS. EL-SAID: No, sir. Very little, I am sorry to say. And what there is is not enough. We want more of it.

MR. BACK: You would like to see our newspapers cover more stories from your part of the world?

MRS. EL-SAID: Yes, more news of that part of the world to help the people understand us, because, you see, it is unfair to us that the Americans will judge us through their own standpoint of view. We are very different.

MR. BACK: Do you, in turn, feel that your papers in Egypt cover us adequately?

MRS. EL-SAID: We can't help it because we actually live on the West and we can't do without the West. We are so interested in the international problems and in national politics because it affects us directly.

MR. BACK: Thank you very much. I want to turn now to Miss Nilawarn of Thailand with that same question. Do you feel that the American people are sufficiently informed towards your country?

MISS NILAWARN: Yes. As a visitor from Thailand I noticed this all along our tour among special groups, such as the people in the World Affairs Councils and people who are internationally minded. The answer is yes but, by and large, no -- because the concern for freedom and the generosity of the American people themselves seem to overwhelm their insight into the minds of the Asia peoples. American knowledge is based more on external appearance of the Asian countries rather than on the substance. What is needed, I might propose, is the deeper and truer sympathy, and not just merely aid.

MR. BACK: Thank you very much. I am sure that the fact that you've been here and we've had a chance to talk to you has helped a lot, and I hope that I'll see a good deal more of that. We Americans have a good deal to learn because we're looking over a vast part of the earth all the time now. Let's turn to our next question. I'm picking these out of the air more or less, but we, ourselves, sometimes find it difficult to define what generally is called the American way of life. We try, of course, constantly, and we are always interested in what visitors to our country might define as the American way of life. Perhaps I might try that with you, Mr. al-Uzri of Iraq. Most people who visit our country have some impression of the American way of life. What is yours?

MR. al-UZRI: It is really very difficult to define, the American way of life, especially if you are visiting America for the first time, but I can pick up some of the main features which have impressed me. In the first place, I have noticed this great equality and especially the opportunity for all the people in that there are no classes, no distinctions. Secondly, the great respect for the individual and his liberty and dignity in the United States of America. The third feature found was the high standard of living enjoyed practically by all, and the fourth feature which impressed me was the tempo with which you go about your work.

MR. BACK: You then feel that we have a tempo here in contrast to Mr. Ramachandran, who feels that we don't move along as fast as we think we do? Did you notice a fast or slow tempo?

MR. al-UZRI: We noticed certainly the fast tempo.

MRS. EL-SAID: I was only going to ask you, sir, a question. Why are you all in a hurry? I mean I can understand it if it is in business but it's also in pleasure, so why?

SEN. MUNDT: I think I can answer that because most of us believe in the philosophy of a great early American by the name of Benjamin Franklin, of whom I am sure you have heard, and in his COPYBOOK he said "Beware of time because that is the stuff of which life is made," and so people want to accomplish a great deal in the span of a lifetime.

MRS. EL-SAID: Believe me, a little rest will be a great help.

MR. BACK: Well, I myself would like to take things a lot slower, but whenever I do everybody else is way ahead of me. How about you, Congressman Hays, what do you think of our tempo?

REP. HAYS: I think there is good counsel in what our visitor has said. I think we should slow down. Of course, we Democrats have to be in a hurry to keep the Republicans from getting ahead of us, but it's still good advice and I think we could profit from it.

SEN. MUNDT: That sounds interesting to me, coming from a southerner, because we think the southerners have sort of slowed down the tempo and have a delightful tempo of life which, up in the north, we don't practice to the extent that you do.

MR. al-UZRI: I have heard many times -- the American people have told us -- take it easy. I believe that this "Take it easy" is a necessity because of the American doctrine of life and the high standards generated by Americans.

SEN. MUNDT: I sometimes feel that why we're going so fast is because we're more mechanized than other parts of the world. Mrs. El-Said, I have been in Cairo, Egypt a number of times and I must confess that I am shocked by the tempo with which people on foot move up and down the streets of Cairo.

MRS. EL-SAID: You mean you were shocked at the speed or the slowness?

SEN. MUNDT: The speed -- I think they walk more rapidly than Americans.

MR. BACK: We have a number of questions that immediately concern the United States to a high degree. For example, the Bandung Conference, the Asian-African Conferences just concluded. I know that you've been in this country while it was on, but I am sure that all of you have followed it very closely. What is your feeling about the conclusions that seem to have been reached there, Mr. Villanueva?

MR. VILLANUEVA: I'm not yet too familiar with all the resolutions adopted at Bandung. I've just read the newspaper this morning.

MR. BACK: Did it all turn out as the Philippines thought it might?

MR. VILLANUEVA: Well, actually, it was not so much of a surprise to us in Asia as it was to Americans, by and large. We always thought that a conference of Asian peoples was necessary at this time because it would be a very timely conference. There were very many things that we had in common -- many problems that are typical of all our countries on which we could exchange views and information. Now, the Bandung Conference is significant because it has given the Asian and African peoples an opportunity to examine the pros and cons of Communism and democracy, and they have faced this question squarely at that conference. I think it merely reveals that there is a great understanding of the world problems in Asia and Africa today. Now, we all had hopes that this conference would devote more time to the economic, social and cultural problems of Asia and Africa, because it is in this field that we thought it would really do a lot of good. Apparently there was not too much time to do this, but we hope that in the future another conference of this nature could be called to devote the energies and talents of our leaders to this vital question.

MR. BACK: One more thing, Mr. Villanueva. Did you feel that the non-Communist representatives at that conference made themselves fully heard? You know, there are people here who thought it might be dominated by the Red Chinese.

MR. VILLANUEVA: I think they had a chance to do that, not only at the primary sessions, but in their personal contacts with all the delegates at the conference. I think we all know how conventions are run and many things are done behind the scenes, and I am sure that the representatives of the Communists, as well as the non-Communist nations of Asia, and those who stand for neutrality had a chance to express each other's viewpoints effectively.

MR. BACK: I want to turn to Mr. Roem. His country, after all, was the host nation to this conference. He's been an official of his country of Indonesia. Mr. Roem, what is your estimate of the results of the Bandung Conference?

MR. ROEM: I think that the result of the Bandung Conference is most satisfactory. I may say that it is also satisfactory for those who had expressed some concern before the beginning of the conference. Stress has been laid on cooperation in the economic and cultural field among the countries who have participated in the Bandung Conference. These are countries who are in the beginning stage of their economic development and cooperation in that field is very important. Cooperation in the cultural field is also very important for these countries because there are so many common things in their culture and in their history. I think the resolutions that were made are mostly based on human rights. About the Palestine problem, we have expressed the desire that the resolution of the United Nations must be carried out, and I think that nobody will be against this, and we expressed the hope that Morocco and Tunisia will be free in the soonest possible time.

MR. BACK: Thank you very much, Mr. Roem. I am sure that the two members of Congress who are with us may want to ask a question or two on that. I don't want to stay too long on the Bandung Conference, but I did want to know whether you had a question, Senator Mundt?

SEN. MUNDT: Yes, I do. I'd like to ask Mr. Roem a question. I was gratified and impressed by the fact that the conference at Bandung seemed to place a great emphasis on human rights. I have the personal feeling that any conference in the world anywhere which concentrates its emphasis on human rights, by that very nature has to point out the deficiencies and the weaknesses of Communism, because Communism is a way of life and a system of politics which entirely nullifies human rights for the individual, and I wonder whether Mr. Roem would agree with me on that observation, or whether he would care to comment about it?

MR. ROEM: People were concerned about the role which Chou En-Lai would play in this conference, but I think that the outcome of the conference proved to be that he had not dominated the conference. I, myself, am for the democratic way of life -- not Communism.

REP. HAYS: I would like to revert to what Mr. Roem said about economic phases and, of course, the human rights phases are, to some extent, bound up with economic problems too. They're not completely separate. One of the visitors from a country that participated in this conference, and I believe there were about thirty, was in America some time ago -- a young college student -- and one of our college lads asked this question: "What does your country expect of the United States?" His answer was very striking. He said "Two things: respect and rice, and in that order." I liked that because it did place values in their right relation, and if he should ask me what our country expects, I would say respect and a market for rice, in that order, because we have a surplus of rice.

SEN. MUNDT: Would you mind including a market for wheat along with that?

REP. HAYS: If I were from South Dakota, I would put it in those terms, but I was glad to have pointed up the problems of our country, and the fact that here we have a common interest. People want rice -- we want a market for rice. But I realize, at the same time, there are countries among your thirty that have a surplus of rice too, and we must not ask for a market in any country that creates economic maladjustments in other countries, and I would like to pose that question for you, who are leaders in your respective countries, to enlighten us. How can we find these markets without disrupting your economic stability, and how can the thirty countries work toward a situation in which they relate their economic interests to our economic interests in the Western Hemisphere? That's a big order, but I thought you wouldn't mind speaking to that question.

MR. ROEM: My country has not a market for your rice, my country has a market for many other articles from America, so you need not be concerned about that. But the economic cooperation between these countries is the kind of cooperation which is very useful for countries who are in the beginning phase of their economic development. Their experiences in the past few years might be very useful to one another. It does not mean that we are not in cooperation with the countries outside these countries, but as young

countries, experience just received in the past few years is very important -- perhaps more important than experience of countries who have developed their economy for more than a century.

REP. HAYS: I don't want to take the time, I want our visitors to have the time, but might I relate that to what we have tried to do in the Western Hemisphere through the Organization of American States which has its economic aspects. Now, I realize that the thirty countries spread across a vast area and perhaps in Bandung some preliminary conversations were conducted which would enable them to break it down, so that if the thirty don't get together on some kind of economic inter-relationship, understandings and agreement, that there can be some breakdown into regional understandings. In other words, it will enable us all to get along together a little better in economic terms. I wanted to just add that comment.

MR. BACK: Thank you, Congressman Hays. I want to go on now to some other matters and we're going to have to hurry a little because the field is very wide. The whole question of Formosa is one that, of course, greatly concerns us, and I was just wondering whether I could ask you, Mr. Villanueva, to tell us how you think Asians would react to U. S. armed participation in the defense of the off-shore islands first?

MR. VILLANUEVA: I would not pretend to speak for Asia on this issue. It's very explosive, and I know that Asia does not speak with one voice on this matter. Perhaps I shall try to reflect the Philippine view on the subject. Now, as you know, we in the Philippines view with concern the question of Formosa, because Formosa is very close to us. It was the staging point for the invasion of the Philippines, and on a clear day you can see Formosa from our northernmost island, Itbayat, so they're very close to us and we, naturally, would like to see Formosa in friendly hands. The Philippine government, as a matter of fact, is officially committed to stand by the United States and it has offered its manpower and resources in the defense of Formosa. Now the question of Quemoy and Matsu, in my mind, as a layman, is strictly a military decision. It is one, in fact, which I think should not even be debated publicly. Can we, or can we not, hold Quemoy and Matsu? Well, that is strictly a military decision and the military commanders on the spot perhaps are in a better position to decide that. As a layman I say that if Quemoy and Matsu -- being important for the defense of Formosa, as it has often been pointed out -- can be held with the forces that we have on the spot, well, I think it would be a wise military decision to do so, but this would require a full knowledge of the military potential.

MR. BACK: The Philippines, being a member of the South East Treaty Organization, you go along then pretty much with the American position right now?

MR. VILLANUEVA: We stand side by side with you and we abide by any decision of President Eisenhower.

MR. BACK: I think now we ought to address the question to Mr. Ramachandran who represents India today.

MR. RAMACHANDRAN: I am very happy you have turned to me for an answer, and I have listened very carefully to what my friend from the Philippines said about it. Any military decision in the modern world becomes at once a world problem. You cannot isolate a decision as a military decision and keep it as a military decision. It immediately can explode into a world problem and the whole question of Formosa, as it strikes India, is that here is a magnificent opportunity for sane people to sit together and prove that the most difficult controversies can be discussed and solved on a peaceful basis. I think the whole of the Bandung Conference is proving that the most difficult things should be capable of being discussed around the table and settled peacefully, so we do not look upon Formosa as a point of explosion for a world war. We look upon Formosa as the point of explosion for a tremendous movement for peace in the world, and peace to be obtained around conference tables. I think this is the great lead that has already come out of Formosa. I would like to ask a question myself. I would like to ask, for instance, Mr. Brooks Hays and the Senator from South Dakota, -- what do you think of the role that India has played in the Formosa Conference?

SEN. MUNDT: You mean, I presume, in the Formosan controversy?

MR. RAMACHANDRAN: Yes, and the Bandung Conference.

SEN. MUNDT: Well, I would say from the standpoint of Formosa that I am one of those who believe that nothing could be more injurious to Asia and its long-term constructive hopes, than the loss of Formosa to the Communist hands -- that we must make that as the positive goal of all freedom loving peoples everywhere -- that Formosa must not be lost to the Communists. Having said that, I would say that I certainly agree with your hope that we can solve the Formosan situation without loss, that it can be done around the conference table, or that it can be done by peaceful methods, but I do not believe that any of us can countenance the constantly outward march of Communism because if it were to get Formosa, it would never stop there. It would be looking toward Japan -- it would be looking toward the Philippines, or somewhere else. But I can assure my good friend from India that Americans abhor war and detest war, probably as much as any people in the world. We have no territorial ambitions, we are not in favor of aggression of any type, and you may be sure that war will not be precipitated -- will not be started in that area by the United States.

MR. RAMACHANDRAN: Would you agree to the United Nations trusteeship over Formosa?

SEN. MUNDT: No, I would not agree to the United Nations trusteeship over India, nor over the Philippines, nor over any independent sovereign country such as Formosa.

REP. HAYS: I think in stressing the value of conference, our friend from India, Mr. Ramachandran, has made an excellent point, and he asked of Mr. Mundt and myself judgments as to the participation of India and its contribution at Bandung. I think that while there is not time to discuss it elaborately, that one reply that he would be interested in is the comment of Senator George, the distinguished Chairman of the Senate Relations Committee, to the newspaper editors the other evening, when he said that while some of the spokesmen for India sometimes bewilder us, and our friend will understand that since we're not so well acquainted with their point of view, nevertheless, we feel that in the fundamental cleavages of our world, they are on our side. We're all fighting for independence and they are making a great contribution which we appreciate now, as we did not in an earlier period. Senator George paid a fine tribute to India and it was a good plea.

MR. RAMACHANDRAN: Thank you very much.

MR. BACK: Now let's go to South Vietnam, that's in our headlines also. Mr. Cao Thai Bao is Commissioner for Political and Administrative Affairs in the State of South Vietnam. Can you tell us whether the present government of that country is going to survive, in your opinion and, secondly, how is that election going to turn out?

MR. BAO: I do hope that in July, 1956, as required by the Geneva Pact, we have general elections.

MR. BACK: That election will determine whether South Vietnam continues as a free state or becomes Communist?

MR. BAO: We have to choose if we want Communist government, or non-Communist government, but, if we can get a free election which we want and we need, we are sure, as far as South Vietnam is concerned, that we will win the elections, that is, if we have free elections.

MR. BACK: What will keep you from having free elections, in your opinion?

MR. BAO: Under the terms of the Geneva Pact, we are committed to discuss in July, 1955, with representatives from North Vietnam, the procedures and the type of election campaign we will have in the 1956 elections.

MR. BACK: What sort of a picture do you see right now? Are you going to get those free elections?

MR. BAO: If we had the election right now, I can assure you we would win the elections. Note that one-tenth of the population in Communist North Vietnam is now migrating as refugees to live in free South Vietnam.

MR. BACK: How about the present government of Premier Diem. Is that government going to survive, in your opinion?

MR. BAO: I am sure that Premier Diem will survive, although he has many troubles.

MR. BACK: Thank you very much, and now let's hurry along here. We have so many fields to cover. Mr. Nasir of Jordan, you're an educator. I want to ask you this question. Do Asians and the People of the Near East fear Western dominance as much as they fear Communist dominance, more or less? What's the relationship, would you say, Mr. Nasir?

MR. NASIR: That is like asking the question to compare between two meals, or two kinds of food -- one which you have tasted and one which you never have tasted. We have tasted Western dominance and we didn't like it. We have not tasted Communist dominance, but from the description, we don't like it either. The question, however, seems to imply that we must accept either Western or Communist dominance. I don't think we agree to this implication and we'd rather have neither.

MR. BACK: Thank you, Mr. Nasir. Mr. Roem, can I go to you again. Is the struggle in Asia essentially a struggle for the minds of men? We use that term in this country all the time.

MR. ROEM: Yes, I would say the struggle in Asia is essentially the struggle for the minds of men, and the minds of men can only reach their highest development in a free country. As this question is asked under the heading of Communism, I would say that our struggle for independence is a positive struggle. We never have said that we are struggling against Communism, because we haven't been dominated by Communism. And I would add, because I would like the people in America to understand it more, my country has an independent foreign policy which is mostly mentioned as a neutral policy. This is a kind of policy that differs from your policy, but in our country we have accepted the democratic way of life, and democracy is not neutralism. I want to point out that if you call it neutralism, that it is only neutralism with regard to foreign policy but in domestic affairs and in the pace of our life we have accepted the democratic way of life and this is not neutralism at all.

SEN. MUNDT: As one of the authors of the so-called Smith-Mundt Bill, which set up the Voice of America and our interchange of students and ideas, and our foreign information libraries, I would like to ask my friend, the fellow-educator from Jordan, and anybody else who would care to comment upon it, what your reaction is to the activities of the Voice of America in your part of the world, and to our foreign information libraries and the exchange of students and exchange of culture programs. Do you think this is helping to create mutual understandings and to solidify the democratic people around the world and like-thinking people -- or do you think that pretty much our efforts in that direction may be misdirected?

MR. NASIR: I would not say that the efforts are misdirected. I would say the purpose of this activity has been to create an understanding apparently. From that point of view, I would say it has only created an understanding of things which are simple, but it has not created any understanding or appreciation or acceptance of the policy of the United States regarding the Middle East. I mean the Middle East is very unhappy and this kind of information or education, although it is very helpful and accepted with a tremendous amount of gratefulness, still it cannot make people understand or appreciate, or even accept the policy with regard to the Middle East.

SEN. MUNDT: I wonder if Mrs. El-Said would care to comment on that question?

MRS. EL-SAID: I do agree with Mr. Nasir very much. The people of Egypt are so interested in the international affairs and the news from outside. They listen to the Voice of America and, actually, are very anxious to listen to the Voice of America. The American library we have in Cairo is very popular. Our boys and young people go and get books and really enjoy reading American books. But what is more important to us is the political understanding. That is what we need very much.

MR. NASIR: Our first contact with Americans was with the American university of Beirut, and that has achieved the very best respect and has been really the cause for the deep respect and confidence of the Middle East toward the United States. It is on

account of that American university that respect and confidence still remains, but unless we do something really on the political side, it would be difficult to continue that.

MR. BACK: Miss Nilawarn, what do you think of our educational exchange program?

MISS NILAWARN: The Fulbright Program and the teachers training program are most acceptable to us, but we would like to see stronger efforts made in the educational field to reach more people. That is, we would like to see a program aimed at increasing general literacy and at extending adult education activities and agricultural extension services. We also like the idea of exchanging young people between our two countries as a step in the direction of the one-world idea.

MR. BACK: In other words, what we have done so far is fine, but you'd like to see it extended in many respects, is that it?

MISS NILAWARN: Yes, because now the exchange program is limited mainly to academic people. The program should be extended to reach the Thai farmers and rural people generally.

MR. BACK: Thank you. I know that you've all been waiting for me to ask this question and I come to it now, although there are other fields that I would like to touch on some more, and that is, what are some of the major problems of your various countries. I think we've heard something of that. Let me turn to you, Mr. Ramachandran of India, and ask you what are some of the major problems of your country? That's a pretty general question, I know.

MR. RAMACHANDRAN: It's a good question, even if it is general. The immediate and the most ardent need is to build up the internal strength in my country, unify the people, put away the caste system altogether which we have nearly done, establish social justice, educate the people and bring up the level of life of the people. They call this a constructive program. The Government of India and the people of India are plunged into this work, but immediately, if we are to continue building up internal strength, we need peace. Any breaking of peace will shatter the whole program of building the strength of the people, so I would say the most ardent problems are the problems of building up the internal strength of the country, and then getting peace to do the job.

MR. BACK: Thank you. Mr. al-Uzri of Iraq, you are a member of Parliament of your country and I am sure that you can tell us what the pressing needs of your country are.

MR. al-UZRI: The most important problems in our part of the world, in the Arab world, and especially Iraq, are five, in my opinion. In the first place, we have the problem of economic and social development, the problem of reconstruction and building up strength. The second problem is the problem of political integration of the small Arab states into a federal state, especially those constituting the Fertile Crescent as a first step, or a nucleus to the larger federation. We would like the United States to take an interest in this project, similar to the interest it is taking in the federation of Europe. The third problem facing the present Iraq and the Arab world as a whole is the problem of liberating the Arab people still under foreign domination, to gain their political independence. The fourth problem, which is, in fact, the most important, is the Palestine problem, which hangs like a dark cloud on the horizon of the Arab East. Unless that problem is solved in a just manner, peace will continue to be disturbed. The fifth problem facing Iraq and the Arab world, as a whole, is the Communist danger which tries to infiltrate into the Middle East. These, in my opinion, are the five major problems facing Iraq and the entire Arab East.

MR. BACK: Mr. al-Uzri, has our economic aid been too little, too late, or anything of that sort?

MR. al-UZRI: We have had practically no economic aid from the United States. We have had some technical aid by the provision of technical personnel on the basis of Point IV. This aid, which we have had from the Point IV program, was, in my opinion, too thinly spread and I wish we had it more concentrated on one objective, such as the

establishment of an efficiently run technical school or a mechanical and agricultural college. In fact, this applies perhaps to all the Arab East. The Arab East, as a whole, has had too little, in fact, many of them have had no economic aid whatsoever.

MR. BACK: Mr. Roem of Indonesia, what type of aid does your country need from the United States, and do you want aid?

MR. ROEM: Let me put it this way. My country is in the beginning of its development period, so we need many kinds of aid, but the problem is also under what terms aid is to be given and, at the present moment, we have accepted aid from the United States in the form of economic and technical aid. We would like to have also military aid but, at the present moment, your policy with regard to military aid is not consistent with our policy so at the present moment we have received and accepted only economic and technical aid.

REP. HAYS: I would like to ask Mr. Roem if he feels that technical assistance is too closely bound up with either military aid or economic aid, and would your people favor our making technical assistance or Point IV work a separate and distinct program?

MR. ROEM: Yes, we would like to have your economic and technical aid a separate and distinct program from the military aid.

MR. BACK: I have the impression, ladies and gentlemen, that the technical aid that the United States has given, and the technical aid the U.N. has given, has been one of the real things that you've all welcomed. It has been one of the things that has really meant something to your countries. Is that true?

MR. ROEM: This is true, with regard to Indonesia.

MR. RAMACHANDRAN: May I ask a question to the Senator and the Congressman. Have you studied, or have you cared to study what is being done in India under the first Five Year Plan, and what are the targets we have set before ourselves in the Second Year Plan. Have you taken an interest in this tremendous work of reconstruction going on, and how does it affect you?

SEN. MUNDT: We have taken an interest in it, but, speaking for myself, I must say I am not an authority on the details of the program. I do know that as we consider these aid programs on the Senate Committee of Appropriations, on which I serve, we try as best we can to relate the aid which we make available to the desires and the ambitions of the people of India from the standpoint of strengthening them as a free part of the world.

REP. HAYS: I am glad that my colleague, Mr. Mundt, brought that out. As I understand it, our program of technical assistance is not competitive. It doesn't conflict -- at least, it should not conflict -- with the Colombo Plan and with these other efforts to advance the standards of living there. We're very proud of what has been done in India by our technical assistance representatives, not only by our government people but, as we understand it, by many people financed by foundations and private organizations.

MR. RAMACHANDRAN: Do you know, for instance, that the Ford Foundation is doing a very magnificent piece of work in India and we are deeply indebted for the help that they have given us. We are also appreciative of the fine work done by the Rockefeller Foundation over the years.

REP. HAYS: That represents the spirit of the American people.

MR. RAMACHANDRAN: Thank you.

MR. NASIR: I think all the financial assistance which America has given to the various people is really an indication of the good and genuine spirit of the Americans and this is why, probably, a tremendous amount of good will has been shown by the Americans, and has been more or less accepted by the rest of the world. We have ac-

cepted aid and we know that the amount of aid which has come to Jordan, although it was relatively small last year -- we receive eight million dollars - but, still, this has helped our economy greatly and we are very deeply indebted for that. There is, however, one thing which I think the Americans ought to know -- that this assistance, however necessary and however useful it may be, cannot make people just accept the various policies which may be directed to anyone.

MR. BACK: Thank you, Mr. Nasir. We have so little time left and, Mr. Togasaki, we haven't heard very much from you since the start of the program, so this will be a hard question and I won't give you very much time, but what are the bases on which the American and Asian people should work to build a free and strong world. What is your estimate of that, sir?

MR. TOGASAKI: I believe that there should be created a greater mutual understanding between the peoples, and in keeping with the statement made by Senator Mundt, I must say that the USIA libraries that have been established in Japan, in particular, have been most helpful and most useful and very popular. A greater intercultural exchange will be very helpful and, furthermore, the inter-change of peoples is most important thru travel. The lubricating of the machinery of world trade on a two-way trade basis -- these, I think, are the bases upon which we should work towards creating better understanding amongst the free world.

MR. BACK: We have just a minute or so left, and I thought perhaps we could make a catchall here. Is there anybody that has another impression of America that they might want to present before we conclude this program? Have we left something out -- something you've seen about America that struck you as unusual? Mr. Ramachandran?

MR. RAMACHANDRAN: There is, in this country, a great fund of moral idealism beneath the surface. It comes from Abraham Lincoln, Jefferson and your great thinkers and writers. One thing that India would love to hear is that you are making the re-discovery of the moral and spiritual foundations of your great civilization and culture, and the moment you do it you will not merely materially lead India, but, perhaps, morally lead the whole world.

MR. BACK: Thank you very much, and I want to express my thanks to everyone of you. It was sometimes difficult to handle this, there were so many of you and I know you all wanted to talk. Our thanks to all the members of the Asia Town Hall Mission, and to Senator Mundt and Representative Hays for this interesting discussion. To our guests from Asia and the Near East, may we say "Happy Landings" and we hope that you'll come again soon.

Our appreciation to the staff of the Senate Radio Gallery, and James Christenat and his associates at WMAL, ABC in Washington.

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